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Dublin July 22^d 1673

An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade
in IRELAND.

My LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell into discourse
t'other day, and gave your Excellency the oc-
casion of desiring me to digest into some Method
and upon Paper, the means and ways I esteemed
most proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*:
This I know very well, that you did it in a manner,
and with Expressions too obliging to be refused, and
out of a design so publick and generous as ought not
to be discouraged. I had therefore much rather obey
your Lordship in this point, how ill soever I do it, than
excuse my self, though never so well, which were
much easier than the other. For I might alledg that
neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in
this Country: That I have passed only one short pe-
riod of my life here, and the greatest part thereof
wholly out of business, and publick thoughts; That
I have since been Ten years absent from it; and am
now here upon no other occasion than of a short Vi-
sit to some of my Friends: Which are all Circum-
stances that make me a very improper subject for
such a command. But I suppose the vein I have had of
running into speculations of this kind upon a greater
scene of Trade, and in a Country where I was more a
stranger; and the too partial favour your Lordship
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By 5th W^m Temple

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has exprest to another Discourse of this nature, have cost me this present service; and you have thought fit to punish me for one folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confessor, that prescribed a Drunkard the penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordship shall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excused; which is all I pretend to upon this occasion.

Before I enter upon the considerations of Trade which are more general, and may be more lasting in this Kingdom; I will observe to your Lordship some particular Circumstances in the Constitution and Government, which have been hitherto, and may be long, the great discouragers of Trade and Riches here; And some others in the present Conjunction, which are absolutely mortal to it; that so you may not expect to find remedies where indeed there is none; nor suffer men, like busie ignorant Physicians, to apply such as are contrary to the disease, because they cannot find such as are proper for it.

The true and natural ground of Trade and Riches, is Number of People, in proportion to the compass of Ground they inhabit. This makes all things necessary to life dear, and that forces men to industry and parsimony. These Customs which grow first from necessity, come with time to be habitual in a Country. And where-ever they are so, that place must grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not disturbed by some accidents or revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either scattered or destroyed.

People are multiplied in a Country by the temper of the Climate favourable to Generation, to Health,

Health, and long life. Or else by the Circumstances of safety and ease under the Government, the credit whereof invites men over to it, when they cannot be either safe or ease at home. When things are once in motion, Trade begets Trade, as fire does fire, and People go much where much People are already gone. So men run still to a crowd where they see it in the streets, or the fields, though it be only to do as others do, to see or to be entertained.

The want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the want of People, and this is not grown from any ill qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of so many Wars and Rebellions, so great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at several Intervals of time succeeded the first Conquest of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Seconds time, until the year 1653; Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, those of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the last; which helped to drain the current stream of Generation in the Country.

The discredit which is grown upon the Constitutions or Settlements of this Kingdom, by so frequent and unhappy Revolutions that for many ages have infested it, has been the great discouragement to other Nations to transplant themselves hither, and prevailed further than all the invitations which the cheapness and plenty of the Country has made them. So that had it not been for the numbers of the *British*, which the necessity of the late Wars at first drew over, and of such who either as Adventurers or Soldiers seated themselves here upon ac-

count of the satisfaction made to them in Land, the Country had by the last War and Plague been left in a manner desolate.

Besides, the subordination of the Government changing hands so often, makes an unsteadiness in the pursuit of the publick Interests of the Kingdom, gives way to the emulations of the different Factions, and draws the favour or countenance of the Government sometimes to one party or interest, sometimes to another; this makes different motions in mens minds, raising hopes and fears, and opinions of uncertainty in their possessions; and thereby in the peace of the Country.

This subordination in the Government, and emulation of parties, with the want sometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the weakness of his credit and support at Court) occasions the perpetual agencies or journeys into *England* of all persons that have any considerable pretences in *Ireland*, and money to pursue them; which end many times in long abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there, though they have no money to support them but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Besides, the young Gentlemen go of course for their breeding there, some seek their health, and others their entertainment in a better Climate or Scene; By these means the Country loses the expence of many of the richest persons or families at home, and mighty sums of money must needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great stock of rich native Commodities here can make the only amends for.

These Circumstances so prejudicial to the encrease of Trade and Riches in a Country, seem natural or at

at least have ever been incident to the Government here, and without them the native fertility of the Soil and Seas in so many rich Commodities improved by multitude of People and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent Havens, and a Situation so commodious for all sorts of foreign Trade, must needs have rendred this Kingdom one of the richest in *Europe*, and made a mighty encrease both of strength and revenue to the Crown of *England*; whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than 'tis worth.

Since my late arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unusual, but I doubt very just complaint concerning the scarcity of Money, which occasioned many airy Propositions for the remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the Coyns here. This was chiefly groundd upon the experience made as they say about the Duke of *Ormonds* coming first over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raised three pence in the piece, and a mighty plenty of money was observed to grow in *Ireland* for a year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the Money to which it is by some great men attributed. For first, there was about that time a general peace and serenity which had newly succeeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all his Majesties Kingdoms; then after two years attendance in *England* upon the settlement of *Ireland* (there on the forge) by all persons and parties here that were considerably

ably interested in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main settlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormonds* hands to pass here into an Act; all persons came over in a shoal either to attend their own concerns in the main, or more particularly to make their Courte to the Lord Lieutenant upon whom his Majesty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and disposition of all affairs in this Kingdom: This made a sudden and mighty stop of that issue of Money which had for two years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of *Ormonds* own great Patrimonial estate with that of several other Families that came over at that time, of small consideration in the stock of this Kingdom. Besides, there was a great sum of Money in ready Coyn brought over out of *England* at the same time towards the arrears of the Army: Which are all circumstances that must needs have made a mighty change in the course of ready money here. All the effect that I conceive was made by crying up the pieces of Eight, was to bring in much more of that Species instead of others current here (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that sort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worse alloy), and to carry away much *English* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces, by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty loss to the Kingdom in the intrinsic value of their Money.

The Circumstances at this time seem to be just the reverse of what they were then; The Nations engaged in a War the most fatal to trade of any that could

could arise ; The settlement of *Ireland* shaken at the Court, and falling into new disquisitions (whether in truth or in common opinion, is all a case): This draws continual Agencies and Journeys of People concerned into *England*, to watch the motions of the main wheel there. Besides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* since the Duke of *Ormond's* time, have had little in their disposition here, and only executed the resolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general affairs, which has drawn thither the attendance of all private pretenders. The great Estates of this Kingdom have been four or five years constantly spent in *England*. Money, instead of coming over hither for pay of the Army, has since the War began, been transmitted thither for pay of those Forces that were called from hence. And lastly, This War has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the Trade of this Country, than upon any other of his Majesties Kingdoms.

For by the Act against Transportation of Cattel into *England*, the Trade of this Country which run wholly thither before, was turned very much into foreign parts ; but by this War the last is stopped, and the other not being open'd, there is in a manner no vent for any Commodity but of Wool. This necessity has forced the Kingdom to go on still with their foreign Trade, but that has been with such mighty losses, by the great number of *Dutch* Privateers plying about the Coasts, and the want of *English* Fregats to secure them, that the stock of the Kingdom must be extreamly diminished. Yet by the continuance of the same expence and luxury in point of living, Money goes over into *England* to fetch what
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must supply it, though little **Commodities** goes either there or abroad to make any considerable ballance ; By all which it must happen, that with another years continuance of the War, there will not be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any rents, or leave any circulation further than the receipts of the Customs and Quit-rents, and the pays of the Army, which in both kinds must be the last that fail.

In such a conjuncture, the crying up of any species of money will but encrease the want of it in general ; for while there goes not out commodity to ballance that which is brought in , and no degree of gains by exportation will make amends for the venture ; what should money come in for, unless it be to carry out other money as it did before, and leave the stock that remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinsique value than it was before ? In short, while this War lasts, and our Seas are ill guarded , all that can be done towards preserving the small remainder of Money in this Kingdom, is, First, to introduce as far as can be, a vein of Parsimony throughout the Country in all things that are not perfectly the native growths and manufactures : Then by severity and steediness of the Government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in some credit the present peace and settlement. And lastly, To force men to a degree of industry, by suffering none to hope that they shall be able to live by rapine or fraud. For in some diseases of a Civil as well as Natural body, all that can be done is to fast and to rest, to watch and to prevent accidents, to trust to methods rather than Medicines or remedies ;
and

and with patience to expect till the humours being spent, and the *Crisis* past, way may be made for the natural returns of health and of strength.

This being premised as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the present conjuncture; I shall proceed to such Observations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and standing Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a Country arises from the native growths of the Soil, or Seas, the Manufactures, the commodiousness of Ports, and the store of Shipping which belong to it. The improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland*, must be considered in the survey of all these Particulars, the defects to which at present they are subject, and the encreases they are capable of receiving either from the course of time, the change of customs, or the conduct and application of the Government.

The native Commodities or common easie Manufactures which make up the Exportation of this Kingdom, and consequently furnish both the stock of foreign Commodities consumed in the Country, and that likewise of current Money, by which all Trade is turned; are Wool, Butter, Beef, Cattel, Fish, Iron; and by the improvement of these, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* seems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one thing must be taken notice of as peculiar to this Country, which is, That as in the nature of its Government, so in the very improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be con-

sidered not only in its own proper interest, but likewise in its relation to *England*, to which it is subordinate, and upon whose weal in the main, that of this Kingdom depends; and therefore a regard must be had of those points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main branches of the Trade of *England*, in which cases the encouragement of such Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the interest of Trade in *England*, upon the health and vigor whereof, the strength, riches, and glory of his Majesties Crowns seem chiefly to depend. But on the other side, some such branches of Trade ought not wholly to be suppressed, but rather so far admitted as may serve the general consumption of this Kingdom, lest by too great an importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it self, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in such a degree as not to leave a stock sufficient for turning the Trade at home; the effect hereof would be general discontents among the People, complaints, or at least ill impressions of the Government, which in a Country composed of three several Nations different to a great degree in Language, Customs, and Religion, as well as Interest (both of property and dependances) may prove not only dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it self. Since a sore in the leg may affect the whole body, and in time grow as difficult a cure as if it were in the head; especially where humours abound.

The Wool of *Ireland* seems not to be capable of any encrease, nor to suffer under any defect, the Country being generally full stockt with sheep, cleared

red of Wolves, the Soil little subject to other rotts than of hunger; and all the considerable flocks being of *English* breed, and the staple of Wool generally equal with that of *Northampton* or *Leicestershire*, the improvement of this Commodity by Manufactures in this Kingdom would give so great a damp to the Trade of *England* (of which Cloths, Stuffs, and Stockins, make so mighty a part) that it seems not fit to be encouraged here, at least no further than to such a quantity of one or two Summer-stuffs, *Irish-freeze*, and Cloth from Six shillings to Fourteen, as may supply in some measure the ordinary consumption of the Kingdom. That which seems most necessary in this branch is the careful and severe execution of the Statutes provided to forbid the Exportation of Wool to any other parts but to *England*, which is the more to be watched and feared, since thereby the present Riches of this Kingdom would be mightily encreased, and great advantages might be made by the connivance of Governours; whereas on the other side this would prove a most sensible decay, if not destruction of Manufactures both here and in *England* it self.

Yarn is a Commodity very proper to this Country, but made in no great quantities in any parts besides the North, nor any where into Linnen to any great degree, or of sorts fit for the better uses at home, or exportation abroad; though of all others this ought most to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly designed by the Earl of *Strafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, answerable to the care used in choice of seed and exercise of Husbandry; and much Land is fit for it

here, which is not so for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating is of little toyl or application, and so the fitter for the Natives of the Country. Besides, no Women are apter to spin it well than the *Irish*, who labouring little in any kind with their hands, have their fingers more supple and soft than other Women of the poorer condition among us. And this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linnen, so as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to those parts upon this occasion into the hands of his Majesties Subjects of *Ireland* without crossing any interest of Trade in *England*. For besides what has been said of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening both by the frequency of Brooks, and also of Winds in the Country.

Much care was spent upon this design in an Act of Parliament past the last Session, and something may have been advanced by it; but the too great rigor imposed upon the sowing of certain quantities of Flax, has caused (and perhaps justly) a general neglect in the execution; and common guilt has made the penalties impracticable; so as the main effect has been spoiled by too much diligence, and the Child killed with kindness. For the Money applied by that Act to the encouragement of making fine Linnen, and broad (which I think is twenty pounds every year in each County), though the institution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any considerable application that way; so that sometimes one share of that Money is paid

paid to a single pretender at the Sizes, or Sessions, and sometimes a share is saved for want of any pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by some amendments to the last Act in another Session, whereby the necessity of sowing Flax may be so limited as to be made easily practicable, and so may be forced by the severity of levying the penalties Enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties, no person ought to carry the first, second or third prize, without producing two pieces of Linnen of each sort (whereas one only now is necessary.) And severe defences may be made against weaving any Linnen under a certain breadth, such as may be of better use to the poorest People, and in the coarsest Linnen than the narrow *Irish* Cloth; and may bear some price abroad when ever more comes to be made than is consumed at home. But after all these or such like provisions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary advance in this branch of Trade, and those are: First, An encrease of People in the Country to such a degree as may make things necessary to life dear, and thereby force general industry from each member of a Family (Women as well as Men), and in as many sorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to run the vein this way. The second is a particular application in the Government. And this must be made either by some Governour upon his own private account, who has a great stock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the gains, or else by the honour of bringing to pass a work of so much publick utility

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both to *England* and *Ireland* (which circumstances I suppose concur'd both in the Earl of *Strafford's* design; and when ever they meet again, can have no better copy to follow in all particulars) than that begun at the *Naas* in his time. Or else by a considerable sum of Money being laid aside either out of his Majesties present Revenue, or some future Subsidy to be granted for this occasion: And this either to be employed in setting up of some great Linnen Manufacture in some certain place, and to be managed by some certain hands both for making all sorts of fine Clothes, and of those for Sails too. The benefit or loss of such a Trade accruing to the Government until it comes to take root in the Nation. Or else if this seem too great an undertaking for the humour of our age, then such a sum of Money to lie ready in hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate prices all such pieces of Cloth as shall be brought in by any persons at certain times to the chief Town of each County; and all such pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the stores of the Navy. All that are fit for the use of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Clothes are) in part of their pay: And all finer pieces to be sold, and the Money still applied to the increase or constant supply of the main stock. The effect hereof would be, That People finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others so uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn so much of their industry this way, as would serve to furnish a great part of that Money which is most absolutely necessary for payment of Taxes, Rents, or subsistence of Families.

Hide,

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, arise all from one sort of Cattel, and are subject to the same general defects, and capable of the same common improvements.

The three first are certain Commodities, and yield the readiest Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom, because they never fail of a price abroad. Beef is a drug, finding no constant vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: for the consumption of the Kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is usually made of Cattel in it; so that in many parts at this time an Ox may be bought in the Country-markets, and the Hide and Tallow sold at the next Trading-Town for as much as it cost. The defects of these Commodities lie either in the age and feeding of the Cattel that are killed, or in the Manufacture and making them up for exportation abroad.

Until the Transportation of Cattel into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickest Trade of ready Money here was driven by the sale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer-months of the year were carried over in very great numbers, and this made all the breeders in the Kingdom turn their lands and stocks chiefly to that sort of Cattel. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than served the consumption within; and few Oxen for draught, which was all performed by rascally small Horses; so as the Cattel generally sold either for slaughter within, or Exportation abroad were of two, three, or at best four years old, and those such as had never been either handled or wintered at hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the Moun-

Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long grafs of the lower lands in the Winter. The effect hereof was very pernicious to this Kingdom in what concerned all these Commodities: The Hides were small, thin, and lank: The Tallow much less in quantity, and of quicker consumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that discredited by the hufwifery of the *Irish* in making it up; most of what was sent coming from their hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Dairies, because the breed of their Cattel was not fit for the *English*-Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for foreign Exportation was prejudiced and almost sunk, for the flesh being young, and only grafs-fed (and that on a sudden by the sweetness of the Summers pasture, after the Cattel being almost starv'd in the Winter) was thin, light, and moist, and not of a substance to endure the salt, or be preserved by it, for long Voyages, or a slow consumption. Besides, either the unskilfulness or carelesness, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the undervalue and discredit of these Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increased the weight by which that Commodity is sold when it comes in quantities abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrels, than in the middle, which would be sometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, sometimes with stones. The Beef would be so ill chosen, or so ill cured, as to stink many times before it came so far as *Holland*, or at least not prove a Commodity that would defray the first charge of the Merchant before it was shipt. Nay, I have known Merchants there, fain to throw away great quantities
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after having layn long in their hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly stopt the Transportation of Cattel, the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel, a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, because Wool gave ready Money for the *English* Markets, and by stealth for those abroad. The breeders of *English* Cattel turn'd much to Dairy, or else by keeping their Cattel to six and seven year old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-trade abroad; and some of the Merchants fell into care and exactness in Barrelling them up; and hereby the improvements of this Trade were grown so sensible in the course of a few years, that in the year 1669, some Merchants in *Holland* assured me, that they had received parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which sold current, and very near the *English*; and of Butter which sold beyond it; and that they had observed it spent as if it came from the richer soil of the two. 'Tis most evident that if the *Dutch* War had not broken out so soon after the improvements of all these Trades (forced at first by necessity, and growing afterwards habitual by use) would in a few years have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great gainer instead of losing by the Act against Transportation of their Cattel: But the War gave a sudden damp to this and all other Trade, which is sunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However having marked the defects that were even in time of peace, it may not be useles to set down the Remedies, though little practicable while

the War lasts. For that great one of killing Cattel young, and only grass-fed, I know none so effectual as introducing a general custom of using Oxen for all sorts of draught, which would be perhaps the greatest improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great slaughter would be made of full-grown, large, and well-wintered Cattel, which would double the income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raise their credit in all foreign Markets, every man would be forced to provide Winter-fodder for his Teem (whereas common Garrans shift upon grass the year round); and this would force men to the enclosing of Grounds, and improving bog men into Meadows; the race of Garrans would decrease; and so make room for the Countrys maintaining the greater number of Cattel, which makes a foreign Commodity, though they die by accident or age, whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or useful thing is to be atchieved without difficulties, and therefore what may be raised against this Proposal ought not to discourage the attempting it. First, the Statutes against that barbarous custom of Plowing by the tayl, ought to be renewed, and upon absolute forfeitures instead of penalties; the constant and easie compositions whereof have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly disused, the Harness for Horses being dearer than for Oxen, the *Irish* would turn their draught to the last, where-ever they have hitherto used the Plowing by the Tayl. Next a Standard might be made, under which no Horse should be used for draught; this would not only enlarge
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the breed of Horses, but make way for the use of Oxen, because they would be cheaper kept than large good Horses, which could not be wintered like Garrans without housing or fodder. And lastly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horse of draught throughout the Kingdom, which besides the main use here intended, would encrease the Kings Revenue by one of the easiest ways that is any where in use.

For the miscarriages mentioned in the making up of those several Commodities for foreign Markets, they must likewise be remedied by severe Laws, or else the improvements of the Commodities themselves will not serve to bring them in credit, upon which all Trade turns. First, the Ports out of which such Commodities shall be shipt, may be restrained to a certain number, such as lie most convenient for the vent of the Inland Provinces, and such as either are already or are capable of being made regular Corporations. Whatever of them shall be carried out of any other Port, shall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Master that receives them. In the Ports allowed shall be published rules agreed on by the skilfullest Merchants in those Wares, to be observed in the making up of all such as are intended for foreign Transportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to those rules shall not be suffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be chosen every three years by the body of the Corporation, whose business shall be to inspect all Barrells of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the seal or mark of the Corporation, without which none

shall be suffer'd to go abroad; Nor shall this mark be affixed to any parcels by those Officers, but such as they have viewed and found agreeable to the rules set forth for that purpose. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the same constant weight, or something over. If this were observed for a small course of time, under any certain marks, the credit of them both as to quality and weight would rise to that degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they used abroad, upon sight of the mark, like silver-plate upon sight of the Cities mark where 'tis made.

The great difficulty will lie in the good execution of the Offices; But the interest of such Corporations lying so deep in the credit of their mark, will make emulation among them, every one vying to raise their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the choice of men fit for that turn. Besides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good degree by a certain fee upon every seal; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every miscarriage of the Officer, which shall be judged so by the chief Magistrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the body of the Corporation.

Cattel for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horses, and of one or other of these kinds the Country seems to be full stockt, no ground that I hear of being untenanted; the two first seem sufficiently improved in the kinds as well as the number, most of both being of the *English* breed. And though it were better for the Country if the number of Horses being lessened made room for that of encreasing
 Sheep,

Sheep, and great Cattel; yet it seems indifferent which of these two were most turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the liberty or restraint of carrying live Cattel into *England*. When the passage is open, Land will be turned most to great Cattel; when shut, to Sheep, as it is at present, though I am not of opinion it can last, because that Act seems to have been carried on rather by the interest of particular Counties in *England* than by that of the whole, which in my opinion must be evidently a loser by it. For first, the freight of all Cattel that were brought over being in *English* Vessels, was so much clear gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at least a fourth part of the price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the first Market, made them double their price by one years feeding, which was the greatest improvement to be made of our dry Pasture-land in *England*. The Trade of Hides, and Tallow, or else of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in foreign Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their Cattel at home. The young *Irish* Cattel served for the common consumption in *England*, while their own large old fat Cattel went into the Barrel for the foreign Trade, in which *Irish* Beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this restraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to share with *England* in the Beef-Trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of *English* Butter, which will be extreemly beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too. (and in the way of
English

English Hufwifry, as it has done a great deal since the restraint upon Cattle.) And lastly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattel bought all the Commodities there which they wanted : By this restraint they are forced to seek a foreign Market, and where they sell, they will be sure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Bristow*, *Chester*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amsterdam*, *Lisbon*, and the *Streights*. As for the true causes of the decay of Rents in *England*, which made the occasion of that Act, they were to be found in the want of People, in the mighty consumption of foreign Commodities among the better sort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this Transportation of *Irish* Cattel, which would have been complained of in former times if it had been found a prejudice to *England*. Besides, the Rents have been far from encreasing since; and though that may be by other accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unless Wool be forbidden as well as Cattel; for the less Cattel comes over from thence, there comes the more Wool, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the price of Pasture-lands in *England*, and yet the Transportation of Wool cannot be forbidden, since that would force the *Irish* Wool either by stealth into foreign Markets, or else in Cloth by the advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a sudden decay upon the principal branch of the *English* Trade.

Horses in *Ireland* are a drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater use at home,

home, but also fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a sweet and plentiful grass, which will raise a large breed; and the Hills, especially near the Sea-coasts, are hard and rough, and so fit to give them shape and breath, and sound feet. The present defects in them are breeding without choice of Stallions either in shape or size, and trusting so far to the gentleness of the Climate as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four year old: This both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable shyness, which is the general vice of *Irish* Horses, and is hardly ever seen in *Flanders*, because the hardness of the Winters in those parts forces the breeders there to house and handle their Colts for at least six months every year. In the Studs of persons of quality in *Ireland* where care is taken, and cost is not spared, we see Horses bred of excellent shape and vigor, and size, so as to reach great prices at home, and encourage strangers to find the Market here; among whom I met with one this Summer that came over on that errand, and bought about twenty Horses to carry over into the *French* Army from twenty to threescore pounds price at the first hand.

The improvement of Horses here may be made by a standard prescribed to all Stallions, and all Horses that shall be used for draught, the main point being to make the common breed large, for then whether they have shape or no, they have ever some reasonable price both at home and abroad. And besides, being not to be raised without wintering, they will help to force men into improvement of Land
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by a necessity of fodder. But for encouragement of finer breed, and in the better hands, some other institutions may be invented by which emulation may be raised among the Breeders by a prospect both of particular honour and profit to those who succeed best, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to such as by aiming at the best though they fail, yet go beyond the common sorts. To this purpose there may be set up both a Horse-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain time every year for the space of a week; the first in the fairest Green near the City of *Dublin*, the latter in that place designed by your Lordship in the Park for some such purpose. During this Week, the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, may be the Races; the Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be two Plates given by the King, one of thirty pounds, and the other of twenty (besides the fashion,) as the Prizes for the first and second Horse; the first Engraven with a Horse Crowned with a Crown; the second with a Coronet, and under it the day of the Month, and the Year. Besides these Plates, the Wagers may be as the persons please among themselves, but the Horses must be evidenced by good Testimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For honour, the Lord Lieutenant may ever be present himself, or at least name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the field, who shall decide all Controversies, and with sound of Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Masters of these two Horses may be admitted to ride from the Field to the Castle with the Lord Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to dine with him that day, and there

there receive all the honour of the Table. This to be done, what quality soever the persons are of; for the lower that is, the more will be the honour; and perhaps the more the sport: and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all sorts of men.

For the Fairs, the Lord Lieutenant may likewise be present every day in the height of them, by himself or Deputy, and may with the advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then present, chuse out one of the best Horses, and two of the best Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, nor above seven years old. For which shall be paid to the owners of them, after sufficient Testimony of their being bred in *Ireland*, One hundred pounds for the Horse, and Fifty pounds a piece for the Geldings. These Sums, as that for the Plates, to issue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without trouble or fee; and the three Horses to be sent over every year to the Kings Stables. Both those that won the Plate, and those which are thus sold ought immediately to be marked so as they may never return a second time, either to the Race or to the Sale.

The benefit by such an institution as this, will be very great and various: For besides the encouragement to breed the best Horses, from the honour and gain already mentioned; there will be a sort of publick entertainment for one whole week, during which the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both Civil and Military, ought to keep open Tables for all strangers. This will draw a confluence of People from all parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer parts of *England* may

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come,

come, not only as to a publick kind of solemnity, but as to a great Mart of the best Horses. This will enrich the City by the expence of such a Concourse, and the Country by the Sale of many Horses into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign parts. This will make general acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord Lieutenant to be more personally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatness, and with more solemnity than usual upon these occasions. And all this with expence only of Three hundred and fifty pounds a year to the Crown, for which the King shall have three the best Horses bred that year in *Ireland*.

The Fishing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under water, as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to those vast advantages it is capable of, and that we see it raised to in other Countrys. But this is impossible under so great a want of People, and cheapness of all things necessary to life throughout the Country, which are in all places invincible enemies of industry and improvements. While these continue, I know no way of advancing this Trade to any considerable degree, unless it be the erecting four Companies of Fishery, one in each Province of *Ireland*, into which every man that enters shall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable share of the gain or loss, and have a proportional voice in the Election of a President and Council, by whom the whole business in each Province shall be managed. If into each of these Companies the King or Lord Lieutenant would enter for a considerable share at the first, towards building such a number of Boats and Busses as each Company could easily manage, it would
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be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain Priviledges likewise, or Immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay from Taxes, and all unusual payments to the publick, in favour of such as brought in a proportion to a certain heighth into the stock of the Fishery. Nay, it seems a matter of so great importance to his Majesties Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and impairing the mighty gains of his Neighbours by this Trade; that perhaps there were no hurt if an Act were made, by which none should be capable of being either chosen into a Parliament, or the Commission of the Peace, who had not manifested his desires of advancing the publick good by entring in some certain proportion into the stock and Companies of the Fishery, since the greatness of one, and application of the other, seem the only present means of improving so rich and so important a Trade. It will afterwards be the business of the Companies themselves, or their directors, to fall into the best methods and rules for the curing and barreling up all their Fish, and to see them so exactly observed, as may bring all those quantities of them that shall be sent abroad, or spent at home, into the highest and most general credit; which with advancing the Seasons, all that can be so as to find the first foreign Markets, will be a way to the greatest and surest gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Plaacaerts or Acts of State concerning the curing, salting, and barreling of Herrings alone, with such severity in the Imposition and execution of Penalties, that the business is now grown to an habitual skill, and care, and honesty, so as hardly any example

is seen of failing in that matter, or thereby impairing the general credit of that Commodity among them, or in the foreign Markets they use.

Iron seems to me the Manufacture that of all others ought the least to be encouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be, which requires the most restriction to certain places and rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any Oare in *Ireland*, at least I am sure the greatest part is fetched from *England*; so that all this Country affords of its own growth towards this Manufacture, is but the Wood, which has met but with too great consumptions already, in most parts of this Kingdom, and needs not this to destroy what is left. So that Iron-works ought to be confined to certain places, where either the Woods continue vast, and make the Country savage, or where they are not at all fit for Timber, or likely to grow to it, or where there is no conveyance for Timber to places of vent so as to quit the cost of the carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at first, as the grounds likewise of Trade in a Country; those are the Commodiousness of Ports, and the store of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obstruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Leinster* to undertake. But whether it be feasible, or at such charges as will quit cost, I will not judge, especially considering the many good Havens that

that are scattered upon that whole Eastern Coast of *Ireland*. Besides this, I know not what to propose upon this head, unless it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-west Coast, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *West-Indy* Trade, and from thence those Commodities may be dispersed into all other parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Customs which they ought to pay in *England*, where this must be concerted.

For the last Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coast, and not wholly out of the way of Trade, which has so little Shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of employing more. The reason of this must be in part the scarcity of Timber proper for this built; but more, the want of Merchants, and uncertainty of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further destruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain heighth, unless it be of a certain scantling, as twelve inches diameter, or some such measure as usually makes a Tree useful Timber. And further, the severest Penalties ought to be put upon Barking any Tree that is not felled; a custom barbarous and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite quantities of Timber have been destroyed.

All Traders in these parts, at least of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The cause of this must be rather an ill opinion of security, than of gain; for those are the two baits which draw Merchants to a place: the last intices the poorer Traders, or the young beginners

ginners, or those of passage; but without the first, the substantial and the rich will never settle in a Country. This opinion can be attained only by a course of time, of good conduct, and good government, and thereby of justice, and of peace, which lye out of the compas of this Discourse. But to make some amends for this want at present, encouragement may be given to any Merchants that shall come over and turn a certain stock of their own here, as Naturallization upon any terms; Freedom from Customs the two first years, and from any Offices of trouble or expence the first seven years. I see no hurt if the King should give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading Ports of *Ireland*, to name for each Town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant should chuse two to be of the Privy Council of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their attendance: This would be an honour and encouragement to so worthy a Calling, and would introduce an interest of Trade into the Council, which being now composed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers; the Traders seem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief member in the Politick body; and upon whose prospering, the wealth of the whole Kingdom seems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Excellencies trouble, and for the discharge of my promise, and too much I doubt for the humour of our age to bring into practice, or so much as to admit into consideration. Your Lordship I know has generous thoughts, and turned to such disinterested Speculations as these, and a mind framed

framed for the exercise of those Virtues which can most advance the publick Weal of the Country where your Station is. But that is not enough towards the raising such buildings as I have drawn you here the lines of, unless the direction of all affairs here were wholly in your hands, or at least the opinion lost of other mens being able to contest with you those points of publick utility which you ought best to know and most to be believ'd in, while you deserve or discharge so great a trust as the Government of this Kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much consider whom to chuse for such employments; but when he has chosen, cannot trust them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too soon, when ever he finds it abused. In short, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the World, whose Commands find general obedience; and Examples, imitation. For all other men, they must take it as they find it; and good men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being spoiled themselves, than upon hopes of mending the World. At least, this opinion becomes men of my level, amongst whom I have observed all set quarrels with the age, and pretences of reforming it by their own models, to end commonly like the pains of a man in a little Boat, who tugs at a rope that's fast to a Ship, it looks as if he resolv'd to draw the Ship to him, but the truth and his meaning is, to draw himself to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the rest of the Crew when he is there. When I have such designs, I will begin such contentions; in the mean time the bent of my thoughts shall be rather to mend my self than the World, which I reckon
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upon leaving much what I found it. Nor should I have reason in complaining too far of an age, which does your Lordship so much justice by the honour of so great an Employment, and so universal an esteem; In both which, as I know no man deserves greater successes and encreases than you do, so I am sure no man wishes you greater than I do.

F I N I S:

